1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

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several months in the village we were asked to pay the head tax for all members in our household in much the same way as the villagers paid it. We were considered by the Hsin Hsing villagers as part of the population. 123

In the later part of the fieldwork, I was at times actually asked by villagers, including the village mayor, to advise them on the settlement of a conflict in which at least part of the village was engaged with another village. However, our virtually complete acceptance by the villagers did not come until we had been in the village nearly a year, when I was unavoidably involved in a conflict in which at least part of the Hsin Hsing villagers were engaged with a neighboring village. In the situation, which concerned the Li Fan case discussed in Chapter 6 (and which has been described in detail in an article I wrote in 1959), I did find it necessary and perhaps even desirable to render some advice and assistance. Once this had been done successfully, I found that what formerly had been a good situation for fieldwork had now turned into an excellent relationship with almost the entire village. Thus, whereas until that time I was still recording interview notes in private, I could now record interviews as they were carried on. Most villagers who would usually spend time talking with me only when they had nothing else of importance to do now willingly made themselves available for interviews whenever it was at all possible. What I had earlier recognized as a good field situation, and it was, had now turned into an ideal one.

Relations with the local officials in the district Public Office (similar to our town hall), the district police, the district Farmers' Association, and the local land records office were of course also extremely important. Access to public and private records such as demographic data, maps and surveys, and land tenure data records depended upon my relationships with these people. For the most part, I was able to secure all the necessary available official records, though this always entailed the utmost patience. 123 127

However, the availability of written historical records, documents, and statistics for the period prior to about 1950 was unfortunately rather limited. While a great deal of literature written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Ch'ing dynasty, e.g., *Chang-hua Hsien Chih*, about Taiwan in general is available, such writings seldom deal with specific local areas. This seems true also of Japanese material. In addition, it has been a frequent Chinese historical practice to copy the material for such books from older chronicles. Therefore, books about Taiwan do not adequately describe the particular area during the period prior to 1950. (This problem is further discussed in a note for Chapter 2.) 127

The absence of family records in Hsin Hsing village makes it diffi-

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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been reestablished. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:15). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:15).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:15).

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

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Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[1] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

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Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 13) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.
127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[4] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 13 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[5] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

[6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.

127 The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this
161 section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 5 on
162 social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the *hsiang* and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

[7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

[8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

161 [9] Based on a discussion in May, 1959, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, soci-
164 ologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the
702 social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1955. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.53 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*or shih sze chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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000 [3] For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

[1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

[2] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

[3] Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

[4] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

175 It is important to realise that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

• 127 175 The local history of the village naturally meshes with the brief general picture described above.[3] It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.[4]

175 167 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830) in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
• 127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

family, there is listed an identification number, relationship to the chia chang of the household,[2] birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, family division, etc. However, the records are only of limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness.

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In summary there is both under-registration and over-registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

Information regarding individuals is also frequently inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

NOTES

Chapter I: Problem and Approach

1 The role of women as portrayed in the traditional literature is abstracted more fully later in this Chapter and in Chapter X.

2 The concept of the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition" are explicated in Redfield (1956).

3 Although the emphasis on the word typical was not in the original presentation, the term was used in the title and the introductory remarks.

4 The concept of "social distance" was developed by Bogardus to measure the degree of closeness or acceptance members of one group feel towards members of other groups (1958; 1959).

5 See Chapter V for a fuller discussion of the nature and function of sworn brothers associations which are perceived as pseudo-kinship groups.

Chapter II: The Setting

1 Although the population figures for Sanlei reflect the actual residence in the village, those for Talei Li are based on registration records in the township office and therefore are inaccurate as will be discussed.

2 "Restoration" is the official term employed to refer to the passing of control from the Japanese to the Chinese and the anniversary date is currently a national holiday celebrated with appropriate rituals.

3 For more complete accounts of the history of Taiwan, any of the following could be consulted: Davidson (1903), Grajdanzev (1942), Riggs (1952), Barclay (1954), Hsieh (1964), Kerr (1965), or Koo (1968).

4 Because of the Communication Bureau and a secret military base in the area, most government information was restricted for security reasons. Although we were not permitted to examine the local histories, an official briefly summarized them for us orally. Similar procedures were in effect for all other data except that we were permitted one day to examine household registration records for our two villages only in the township office and one day, the same for the land registration in the land office. Family histories are not very accurate but because of the shallow depth of the